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LETTER
OF
HON. ROBT. J. WALKER,
ON THE
ANNEXATION OF NOVA SCOTIA
AND
BRITISH AMERICA.

[FROM THE WASHINGTON CHRONICLE, APRIL 23, 1869.]

The following letter is from Hon. Robert J. Walker to the Committee of the Nova Scotia League, in reply to their communication, requesting his views on annexation, &c.:

WASHINGTON CITY, April 21, 1869.

To the Chairman and Secretary of the Nova Scotia League, Halifax, N. S.:

GENTLEMEN: Shortly after your letter of the 10th of December last reached me here, I was taken quite sick, and long remained so. My health is greatly improving, but I have been compelled to dictate from my bed this letter to an amanuensis. If, then, this reply is less condensed than it otherwise would have been, will you be pleased to make the proper allowance? You ask me—

1st. "What is the feeling in the United States on the subject of admitting Nova Scotia as a State of the Union?"

2d. "On what terms, as regards Nova Scotia, could such a union be accomplished?"

3d. "What would be the probable effect of annexation on the welfare of Nova Scotia?"

These questions involve momentous consequences to Nova Scotia, to British North

America, to England, and to the United States. Considering the gravity of these questions, I shall endeavor to discuss them most calmly and dispassionately. Reason, man's noblest attribute, must be the umpire, and truth, the object in view. The facts presented shall be authentic, and the arguments intended to be logical deductions therefrom. Let us, then, my friends, discard all local prejudice and passion, and rise to that region of light and knowledge, where we can see the truth and follow it with fearless confidence to all its legitimate results.

My respect for the people of Nova Scotia is most profound; indeed, the more this subject has been examined by me, the more clearly does it appear, that your people are a great, enlightened, courageous, and liberty-loving race. Your gallant maintenance of your rights, your devotion to the principles of free government, excite here unbounded admiration. You are of our blood, race, and language. This is said of England also. But, then, England is European, and you, like ourselves, are Americans by birth or adoption. This great American continent is your home and ours. Here, in America, are your social relations, your interests and affections, your pleasant fire-

sides, your wives and children. Who can define the so-called European balance of power, and what interest have you in that question? What interest had you in upholding the Government of Turkey, and forcing the Christian to remain the slave of the sensual and brutal Turk? What interest had you in the recent Paris conclave, by which the liberties of Crete were extinguished, and the Cross trailed before the Crescent in the dust? There are many other European questions, in determining which you are not consulted—neither have you any voice, nor vote, nor representation, nor interest; but the decision of which may involve you in most disastrous wars. Then there are Anglo-American questions, in regard to which you are not consulted, and yet they might involve you and us in serious consequences. As a part of the British realm, you participate in her wars, and follow her destiny. You must fight her battles, although you are never consulted in determining the measures that involve such fearful results. Except where man is regarded as a musket or bayonet, a gladiator or a slave, he participates in the councils, whose edicts demand the sacrifice of his life and treasure. With these explanatory remarks, I now answer your questions in their order:

1st. So long as the discordant element of slavery existed here, the annexation of Nova Scotia to the United States was impracticable. Since the disappearance of slavery, this annexation in most, if not all, of the States, would be hailed with unbounded satisfaction.

2d. If Nova Scotia should signify to us her desire to become a State of the Union, most advantageous terms would be offered her. The crown lands, now estimated at four millions of acres, would become hers, together with all the ungranted mines which they contain, whether of gold, silver, coal, or any other mineral. These lands and mines, after annexation, would become of great value. All public buildings would become yours, except forts, arsenals, navy-yards, and custom-houses. We would assume your public debt, now estimated at \$3,000,000. Of course you would receive your share of our public land scrip set apart for every State for an agricultural and mechanical college. This

scrip, in the case of Nova Scotia, would be of the value of \$235,000. Since the meeting of our First Congress, in 1789, the General Government has granted to the several States and Territories land and money of the estimated value of \$330,000,000 for the purposes of education. Included in this sum is \$39,000,000, distributed by Congress among the States in 1836. Again, during the same period, Congress has granted in the States and Territories, or to companies representing them, lands and moneys, of the estimated value of \$507,000,000, for the improvement of rivers and harbors and the construction of levees, turnpikes, railroads, and canals. These grants embrace every State of the Union and seven Territories. On becoming a State, Nova Scotia would, of course, participate thereafter in her full share of such appropriations. We should, in my judgment, first construct the short ship canal which would unite the bay of Fundy with Northumberland sound, and connect the Bras d'Or with the strait of Canso. We should unite your railroad system, as soon as practicable, by the lower southern route, with that of New England, New York, and Canada. We should extend our light-house system, (which is free from light dues,) all along your shores, including buoys, light-boats, and all other aids to navigation, and give you all the advantages of our magnificent coast survey, up to the head of tidewater, throughout your limits. We would improve your rivers and harbors as we do our own, and construct all the necessary Federal buildings. We should protect and improve your fisheries, and aid in developing, by all constitutional means, your mineral and agricultural wealth. Of course, you would enjoy forever, under the Constitution, absolute reciprocal free trade with all the States, thus securing the markets of forty millions of people. You would participate equally with ourselves in the exclusive privileges of our gigantic coasting trade. One of our first acts, would probably be, the establishment of a great line of ocean steamers, to run from Halifax to Europe, built by yourselves, and with your own iron and timber, aided by postal and other arrangements. The improvement of Halifax would, of course, become our interest and

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duty, and we would expect to see her, in time, approach Boston in wealth and population. Nova Scotia, on entering the Union, would frame for herself such republican State constitution as would be acceptable to her people. "An immense prosperity would immediately succeed annexation, and you would certainly soon bring all the rest of British North America into our Union. You would not have to wait the slow process of our naturalization laws, but, by the very act of annexation, you would all become immediately American citizens, with all their rights and privileges." The Senators and Representatives from Nova Scotia would take their places in the American Congress, and their statesmen grace our Cabinet. In peace, we would delight to do all in our power to advance your prosperity, and in war, we should defend you from all assailants. Indeed, with all British North America ours, with their own free consent and that of England, exhibited in the acknowledgment of their independence, we should never have another war. "The whole North American continent would soon be ours by voluntary annexation, and, as will be shown hereafter, our population, long before the close of this century, would reach at least one hundred and fifty millions of people, and our wealth be counted by hundreds of billions of dollars." Russia, Japan, and China on the east are already our warm friends, China having trusted to an American the great task of securing her against disintegration; Japan having granted us most favorable treaties, and Russia having transferred to us the all-important territory of Alaska. Passing from Asia to Europe, after such a consummation, the cordial reunion of the kindred races of England and America could at last be effected. Who would cross the Atlantic or Pacific to assail us, for what cause, and with what certainty of disastrous failure? Our policy is peace. We have never engaged in an unjust war, nor would it be tolerated by our people. Having thus responded to your second question, I will now endeavor to answer your third.

8d. The Atlantic ocean separates you by thousands of miles from Europe, but brings you within the immediate vicinage of our

own coast. Let us see now what is your present condition, and what would be the effect upon your trade and industry of annexation to the United States. In 1865 your total exports to all the world were \$8,880,693, distributed as follows: To Great Britain, \$764,742; to the West Indies, \$1,066,459; to the Canadas, \$438,191; to the United States, \$3,619,797; to all other places, \$2,041,414. The imports to Nova Scotia, the same year, were \$14,381,662, distributed as follows: From Great Britain, \$6,315,988; from West Indies, \$667,206; from the Canadas, \$508,935; from the United States, \$4,325,857; from all other places, \$2,563,676. This, as indicated by the returns, was much the largest year, both of exports and imports, for Nova Scotia. The total of imports and exports that year were \$23,211,701. The total of both for the preceding year of 1864, were \$19,777,468, which were greater by over \$3,000,000 than any year preceding. For 1866 the total exports from Nova Scotia were \$8,043,095, and the imports \$14,381,662; total of imports and exports, \$22,424,109. These were distributed as follows:

EXPORTS.		IMPORTS.	
Great Britain...	\$287,384	Great Britain...	\$5,893,566
Canada	574,762	Canada	726,164
New Brunswick	665,482	New Brunswick	820,814
Newfoundland	504,395	Newfoundland	175,372
Prince Edward Island	263,602	Prince Ed. Island	346,469
United States...	3,228,550	British W. Indies	1,013,363
British West Indies	1,635,673	Spanish W. Indies	1,091,456
All other countries	882,747	United States	4,041,844
		All other countries	271,930
Total	\$8,043,095	Total	\$14,381,662

I have not the tables complete for 1867, but only for the first nine months, which show that the total exports from Nova Scotia during that period to all the world were \$5,474,328, and of imports, during the same period, into Nova Scotia, \$9,345,490, making a total of \$14,819,818. This would seem to indicate a further decline in the trade of Nova Scotia. The first remark I would make on these tables is this, that while the exports of Nova Scotia here reached \$3,619,797, those of Canada only amounted to \$438,191, and from Great Britain, \$764,742; while the imports the same year from Great Britain to Nova Scotia amounted to \$6,315,988, from the Canadas \$508,935, and from the United States, \$4,325,857. It

thus appears, that the exports of Nova Scotia to the United States, in 1865, exceeded those to Great Britain that year in the ratio of nearly five to one, and to the Canadas more than eight to one, whilst England imported that year into Nova Scotia an excess of more than \$5,500,000, thus throwing the balance of trade to that amount against Nova Scotia, the Canadas adding considerably to that balance. The paltry and insignificant trade with the Canadas, as compared with the United States, must show the absurdity of sacrificing the trade of the United States for that of the Canadas. For 1866, the exports from Nova Scotia to Great Britain, were \$287,884; to the United States, (the reciprocity treaty having then expired,) \$3,228,550. The same year, the imports into Nova Scotia from Great Britain were, \$6,893,596; from the United States, \$4,041,844. Thus, even after the termination of the reciprocity treaty, whilst the exports from Nova Scotia to Great Britain amounted to but the paltry sum of \$287,884, the imports from Great Britain to Nova Scotia approached \$6,000,000. It is here, then, also clearly evident, that, as compared with the United States, England affords no markets for Nova Scotia, even under our present high tariff. Such is the present state of affairs; let us now see what would be the result after annexation. Our population in 1870, it is conceded, will exceed forty millions. Now, according to the last official report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, the internal commerce between the States, as given for 1868, (and estimated for 1870,) would be five billions of dollars in gold. Now, if upon annexation, the trade of Nova Scotia with her sister States was equal to her proportionate share, according to her population, in 1870, as given in the Canadian year book, the total trade of Nova Scotia that year with her sister States would be \$48,750,000, and that of the Canadian Dominion, so called, together with Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Vancouver, and British Columbia, would be \$556,700,000. In making these estimates, I take the tables of population from the Canadian year book of 1869, pages 6, 156, 158, and 159. These results are so stupendous as almost to dazzle the imagination, and yet these are the very marvels

officially exhibited as regards the internal trade between our States by our censuses and other official reports. The same results also speedily followed with all our preceding annexations, from 1803 onward. Indeed, in nearly all these cases, these results were exceeded in a few years by the actual returns. This was owing to the fact, that, in a few years after annexation, the States and Territories newly admitted, immediately after becoming a part of the Union, commenced augmenting in a greatly increased ratio of wealth and population. Indeed, this inter-State trade with Nova Scotia, would, in time, become much greater than the average per capita of our present inter-State trade. This would arise mainly from the advantageous maritime position of Nova Scotia. Thus, Cape Breton, which constitutes an important part of Nova Scotia, is a long island deeply indented with harbors, bays, and inlets, and scarcely an acre of her soil is more than five miles distant from navigation. She has most valuable coal mines almost immediately on an ocean inlet. Nova Scotia proper is a long peninsula, surrounded by the Atlantic, the bays of Fundy and Northumberland, and the straits of Canso. Her great coal mines are mainly also on ocean inlets. Scarcely an acre of her soil or mines is distant more than twelve miles from navigation, whilst, owing to her deep bays and almost countless inlets and harbors, nearly one-half her products, mineral and agricultural, are close to navigable waters. Tempered by the great Gulf Stream, her harbors on the Atlantic are open nearly all the year, and her climate is much milder than the average temperature of New England.

The products of Nova Scotia are precisely those which are most wanted for a great interior commerce with nearly all the States of the Union. These are: First, her coal mines, of the best quality, inexhaustible, and located almost immediately upon the ocean shores. When it is remembered that New England, New York, and New Jersey produce no coal, with a present population of nine millions, and rapidly increasing, the vast extent of this internal trade can hardly be estimated. The Pennsylvania coal mines, it was predicted, would be greatly injured by free coal from

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Nova Scotia. But, under the reciprocity treaty Nova Scotia coal was imported here duty free for ten years, and yet the consumption of Pennsylvania coal augmented more rapidly than during any preceding period. No great maritime and manufacturing nation, especially with a vast internal and coastwise trade, can have too much coal. That of England, it is now conceded, will be exhausted in less than 200 years. (See Sir William Armstrong and Mr. Gladstone's speeches.) It is now ascertained, that many of the mines of Nova Scotia afford coal entirely free from sulphur, not even a trace being found by chemical analysis. Nova Scotia coal produces admirable gas, coal oil, and petroleum. The evaporative power of Nova Scotia coal exceeds that of England or Scotland. (See official report of Professor Henry How to the Provincial Government, dated June 1, 1863.) Besides coal, "extensive peat bogs are found in the province." (How. Rept., pp. 6-36.)

The whole quantity of coal in mines already discovered in Nova Scotia, is estimated at four billions of tons, but this is supposed to be far short of the real quantity. This coal at the pit's mouth is of the value of \$3 per ton, which would make the total value of the coal already discovered \$8,000,000,000. Such is one of the vast additions which the annexation of Nova Scotia would make to our national wealth. But, by annexation and the consequent removal of our heavy duties, the price of Nova Scotia coal would be increased to the producers at least one dollar per ton. This would make an addition from time to time of \$4,000,000,000 to the ultimate aggregate wealth of Nova Scotia. This is but one illustration of the glorious results of free trade among the States under our Constitution. "It bleaseth him that gives, and him that takes."

Next to coal comes iron, which is found in the greatest abundance, of every variety, and of excellent quality. Iron ores are often found abundantly, together with the limestone flux, all in immediate juxtaposition with the coal, and near the ocean. The iron bears a favorable comparison with that of Sweden, and is admirably adapted for the manufacture of steel, and for railway wheel tires. The value, as compared with that of England, is as follows:

	£	s.	d.
English pig iron, (Stafford-shire,) average.....	4.	0.	0. per ton.
Nova Scotia.....	7.	0.	0. per ton.
English bar iron, (Stafford-shire).....	9.	0.	0. per ton.
Nova Scotia.....	15.	10.	0. per ton.

Among the varieties of iron ores found in Nova Scotia, are the bog ore, clay-iron ore, brown hematites, red hematite and specular ore, iron-sand, magnetic iron ore, black band iron stone, brown iron ore, hydrated red iron ore, turgite, titaniferous iron ore, and ochrey iron ores. In connection with the iron ores, are mineral paints. This name is given to the ochres and umbers, consisting of peroxide of iron and manganese existing in a hydrated state. "These mixtures have been largely used in the Province, and have been exported in considerable quantity."—(Prof. How, pp. 83-109.)

One of the most important ores, found in great quantity in Nova Scotia, and of the best quality, is manganese. This mineral is of great and constantly increasing use and value; it is the oxide which it contains which constitutes its great value. It is used in making bleaching powder, in manufacture of iron and steel, in a great variety of arts, and manufactures of a chemical character. It is also used in making glass, pottery, dyeing, and calico printing, in the preparation of manganates and permanganates, and boiled oil; also, as deodorisers and purifiers of water, and as cheap agents in the extraction of gold from quartz. It is also used for manufactures depending on the products of the alkali trade, namely: Soap, glass, paper, cotton, linen, woolen, colors, and all chemical manufactures of any magnitude, also in alloys. About 50,000 tons of it are used annually in England, but only about 1,000 tons here. It is a raw material of manufactures of great and increasing value, and, by the annexation of Nova Scotia, its consumption here would be wonderfully increased. (How's Report, 110-126.) Gypsum, of the best quality, is found in great quantities in Nova Scotia. It is put on shipboard in Nova Scotia at ninety cents a ton, and the ordinary quality is sold in New York at \$3 25 per ton in gold. The quantity of gypsum exported from Nova Scotia in 1867 was 103,426 tons of which there were exported to the United

States 101,090 tons, and the rest, being only 2,336 tons, to Canada, Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Prince Edward, and St. Pierre. Thus, the United States appeared to be almost the sole consumer of gypsum exported from Nova Scotia. This gypsum is much used as a fertilizer in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and is also beginning to come again into favor in the cotton States. By annexation, the consumption here would be greatly increased. Besides its application as a fertilizer, it is also used in making casts, models, copies of valuable statuary, museum fossils, for fine ceilings, their centre pieces and cornices, and in making paper, instead of China clay, in stucco, for fictile ivory, and for filling fire-proof safes, as well as for cement. Large blocks, hardened by a new process, have lately been sold at high prices in the United States. The compact white gypsum, called alabaster, has been found abundantly in several counties of Nova Scotia. Anhydrite, known as hard plaster, is used as a building stone, and is a good substitute for marble in indoor work. It is twenty-one per cent. more valuable than gypsum as a fertilizer.

Borates and three new minerals are found in gypsum and anhydrite. Two of these minerals are entirely new, and another of them is identical with the mineral called tiza in Peru, which is imported largely into England, and to some extent into the United States, for the manufacture of borax, or for immediate use in the potteries. It is also most valuable in glazing, is an excellent flux for metallurgic purposes, and is used in certain factories. These three new minerals are called natroborocalcite, cryptomorphite, silicoborocalcite. Glauber salts are often found in the gypsum beds of Nova Scotia. Numerous brine springs exist in the gypsiferous districts of Nova Scotia. The brine is very pure and limpid, and the salt is said to be of superior quality. Most excellent salt, very white and pure, is manufactured at some of these springs. (Professor How's report.)

Magnesia alum is also found in this region, and has been used for dyeing in place of alum, (How., 127 to 148.) Nova Scotia "contains perfectly inexhaustible quantities of limestones, presenting a great

variety of qualities." Limestone is quarried for building purposes; its chief value, however, will be "found in the making of lime for washes, mortar, cement, agricultural purposes, and as fluxes in iron smelting." It is valuable for hydraulic and other cement, and for masonry. It is also of great value as a fertilizer.

Marble of the best quality abounds in Nova Scotia. That "found in largest quantity is pure white in color, of excellent grain, surpassing in beauty when polished, according to marble workers, the Italian marble." (How's report.) If this marble be so splendid and so cheap, as believed, we should like, in case of an annexation, to use it as a material for constructing our great public buildings, especially those projected for the State, War, Navy, and Interior Departments. The varieties of Nova Scotia marble are very great. Beside the white, they have the purple colored, with green spots of serpentine; the red banded, the red and white mottled, the chocolate, the greenish colored, the gray patterned, the white, with black veins; the red and clouded grey, the white and green, and the black marble. The gray, when polished, "exhibited concentric waved bands in separate sets, whose outlines somewhat resembled expanded flowers." It is "unique" and "an object of great admiration." Marble of "rare flesh color is also found in inexhaustible quantities." (How's report.)

Barytes are found in several localities of Nova Scotia. Its principal uses "are the making of porcelain, the adulteration of white lead, the producing permanent white pigment, and enameling articles made of paper, as cards and collars, and giving a peculiar surface to room-paper." Forty tons a day are consumed "at one factory in New York for enameling collars." The value is said to be "\$20 a ton crude, and \$35 a ton refined." Some of the veins are "fifteen feet in thickness." (How's report.)

Moulding sand of the first importance, in metal casting, of the best quality, and in large quantities, is found in Nova Scotia. It is this which gives iron and ornamental castings their "unrivalled delicacy and exquisite finish." (How's Report.)

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clays are found in great abundance in Nova Scotia, where they have most extensive brick yards and potteries, also fire-bricks, pronounced the best at the London Exhibition of 1862. These are used for paving tile, for flower pots, flue conductors, chimney pots, butter coolers, vases, earthenware, stoneware, crucibles, melting pots, &c. (How, 149-168.)

Building stones are found in the greatest abundance in Nova Scotia; also stones and materials for grinding and polishing. Among these are granite, most abundant and of the finest quality; also free stone, beautiful and abundant; flag stone, clay slate, pencil stone, oven stone, and grind stones in the greatest abundance and of the best quality; also mill stones, hone stone, cutting material, and infusorial earth. (How., 169-178.)

There are also in Nova Scotia mines of silver, argentiferous galena, antimony, mercury, molybdenum, arsenic, cobalt, nickel, and bismuth. "Native silver is found abundantly disseminated through the drift of Mackenzie river in small grains and nuggets." Silver is also found in the gold districts in manganese ore and in native copper; also in argentiferous galena. (How., p. 58-64.)

There are also found in Nova Scotia copper, copper ores, lead ore, zinc ore, sulphur, and sulphur ore. "Copper ores are found at many localities, and are occasionally very rich." Copper also is found at various points, and is being worked to some extent. How far the copper mining operations will prove generally profitable is a problem as yet unsolved. (How., 65-82.)

Gold is found in many portions of Nova Scotia, and is extensively and profitably worked. It is found in the trap and auriferous quartz; also "in talcose slate, which is sometimes beautifully plated with metal." (How's Report.) It is found in veins, leads, and lodes. Groups of rich, auriferous leads are found in close proximity to each other. The gold is also found in alluvial deposits, in sand deposits, and in streams. The gold region of Nova Scotia is estimated to extend over 7,000 square miles, or much more than one-third of the whole province. The gross yield of gold in Nova Scotia was as follows: For the two years, 1860-1, the yield was of the value of

\$111,000. The increase was constant each year until 1867, when it reached \$504,839. Professor How says on this subject: "In gold mining the success may be considered good, both in the increase of gold obtained and the average rate per ton of quartz crushed; whilst the average remuneration for each man, counting 313 days in the year, and the gold at \$18 50 per ounce, is \$3 44 per day—a result, it is believed, without a parallel in any country. The progress in the yield of gold has been steady, and we may expect a large increase in the working of the poorer mines; leads are now made to pay which, at first, could not have been worked without loss; and leads now deemed worthless will, no doubt, owing to the increased experience in mining and treating the ores, be found remunerative." (How, 37-57.)

The abundant supply of coal, wood, and peat near the mines would be of the greatest value in running the furnaces. It is believed that, with an adequate supply of labor and capital, which annexation would furnish, with increased skill and knowledge, with improved machinery, and the most economic processes, the gold of Nova Scotia may be made to yield for centuries millions of dollars a year.

Nova Scotia abounds in minerals for jewelry and ornamental purposes. Among these, are topaz, garnet, crystal quartz, rock crystal, amethyst, smoky quartz, containing crystals of one hundred pounds weight and of great value, chalcedony, agate, jasper, and heliotrope or blood stone. In addition to these, twenty other beautiful minerals, chiefly adapted for the cabinet, are given by Professor How. (How; 179-191.)

Nova Scotia abounds in mineral waters of the greatest value. (How, pp. 192-200.) The abundant supply which Nova Scotia could furnish us of many raw materials for manufactures and chemicals, would be of great value.

"I have given these details of the mineral wealth of Nova Scotia, not so much to enlighten your people, as for the information of our own citizens, that they may know how immense is the value of Nova Scotia, and how liberal should be the terms offered her as an inducement for annexation." You may also here contrast your natural advantages with those of Massa-

chusetta. In the valuable little work on Nova Scotia, by J. B. Calkin, head master of the provincial model school, Truro, N. S., he says: "Nova Scotia possesses great commercial facilities in its very excellent harbors;" he then names the principal, eighty-six in number. This is unequalled in the world. "Few countries are more healthy than Nova Scotia." "The hardier varieties of the grape come to maturity in the open air." (Calkin, pp. 54, 47.) "Nova Scotia is situated in the vegetable zone, whose characteristic products are the oak and wheat. The flora is similar to that of the northern States and Canada. The forests are extensive, yielding timber, lumber, fuel, &c. The cone-bearing trees, such as pine, spruce, larch, &c., are of great commercial value. The most valuable hard wood trees, are oak and beech, maple, birch, and ash. The finest ornamental trees, are the elm, poplar, and rowan, or mountain ash. Many beautiful, herbaceous plants are indigenous to the province. The principal cultivated fruits, are apples, pears, plums, cherries, quince, currants, &c. The common cereals, as wheat, oats, rye, and Barley, are successfully cultivated; Indian corn is ripened without difficulty. Potatoes, turnips, beets, carrots, &c., are extensively cultivated."—(Calkin, pp. 59, 60.)

A description of the soil of Nova Scotia is thus given by counties by Mr. Calkin: *Guyboro*—"good in the north, barren in the south, except on the rivers." *Halifax*—"generally poor, except on the rivers." *Lunenburg*—"much fertile soil, especially on the rivers and shores of Mahone bay." *Queens*—"rocky and barren on the coast, fertile tracts in the interior." *Shelburne*—"rocky; extensive barrens and peat bogs." *Yarmouth*—"rocky, generally arable." *Digby*—"average quality; good soils on Digby neck and at the head of St. Mary's bay." *Annapolis*—"generally fertile." *Kings*—"generally fertile, superior marsh." *Hants*—"fertile, good marsh." *Cumberland*—"generally fertile, extensive marshes." *Colchester*—"generally fertile, good marsh, and intervale." *Pictou*—"generally fertile, good intervale." *Antigonish*—"generally fertile." *Inverness*—"generally fertile." *Victoria*—"generally fertile." *Cape*

Breton—"generally fertile." *Richmond*—"best soil on the Bras d'Or lake and along the rivers." (Calkin, 77, 79.)

Judging from these reports, and general information, we may assume, that at least two-thirds of your soil is fertile, and more than three-fourths is arable. Horses, sheep, swine, and cattle are raised extensively in Nova Scotia. The tonnage of Nova Scotia in 1866, was 400,595, valued at \$13,749,027. The tonnage built that year was registered at 58,935, and valued at \$2,388,780. It is clear that your ship-building, freighting, and navigating interest will be greatly promoted by annexation. We have seen that this would increase your internal trade with the United States eight times, as compared with the present system and high tariff. This alone would make a wonderful increase in your ship-building and freighting. But there is a still larger result connected with this question: It is the opening to you freely, with ourselves, the great benefits of the coasting trade, from which you are now entirely excluded. This trade extends from Eastport, Maine, to all our Atlantic cities, to New Orleans, and thence by the isthmus, or around Cape Horn, to all our ports on the Pacific. It also includes the internal navigation of all our rivers, as well as of our lakes and canals. The whole of our ocean coast line, including bays and rivers on both shores, reaches 44,000 miles. That of our lakes, 3,620 miles; that of the Mississippi and its tributaries, 35,644 miles; that of all our other rivers above tide water, 58,907 miles—making in all 142,171 miles, requiring a vast annual supply of shipping which could be furnished by Nova Scotia, whether the vessels were of wood, or iron, or both, in enormous quantities, and as cheaply as by any other State. The value of the lumber and timber exported in 1866, was \$794,997; fish, \$3,244,940; fish oil \$133,826; horned cattle and other animals, \$174,219; vegetables, \$210,619; butter and lard, \$138,180. We thus see, even by these imperfect returns, what great advantages Nova Scotia has in her lumber and timber, in her tonnage and ship-building, and fisheries. I say, then, here, without any fear of successful contradiction, that there is no area of the world, not larger than that of Nova Scotia, on which the Creator has lavished such bounties and such wonderful

natural advantages. Taking the combination of all these advantages, there is no State of this Union, nor of the world, that, in proportion to her area, can compare with Nova Scotia.

Let us first contrast some of the natural advantages of Massachusetts and Nova Scotia: Area of Massachusetts; 7,800 square miles, Nova Scotia, 18,760. Massachusetts shore line, 764 miles; Nova Scotia, 1,500 miles. Massachusetts—coal, none; Nova Scotia—coal most abundant. Massachusetts—copper, none; Nova Scotia—copper, considerable. Massachusetts—gypsum, none; Nova Scotia—gypsum abundant. Massachusetts—freestone, limestone, grindstones, marble, &c., comparatively none; Nova Scotia—very abundant. Massachusetts—iron, scarcely any; Nova Scotia—very abundant. Massachusetts—gold, none; Nova Scotia—very considerable. Massachusetts—silver, argentiferous galena, antimony, mercury, arsenic, cobalt, nickel, bismuth, lead, zinc, plumbago, sulphur, manganese, borates, salt, magnesia, alum, precious stones, cabinet minerals, &c., comparatively none; Nova Scotia—all found, and some in considerable quantities. Massachusetts—lumber and timber, none; Nova Scotia—very considerable. Massachusetts—fisheries, none scarcely on her own shores; Nova Scotia—large and valuable. Massachusetts—hydraulic power, considerable; Nova Scotia—very much greater. Massachusetts—soil sterile; Nova Scotia—fertile. Massachusetts—average distance of lands from navigation, 50 miles; Nova Scotia—10 miles. Such is a brief summary of one of the greatest contrasts in natural advantage: that perhaps ever existed between two States. In Massachusetts, labor is king, and virtue, liberty, and knowledge are prime ministers. Her great staples are schools, newspapers, intellect, and industry. She has an army of two hundred thousand pupils at the public schools; *but, above all*, she has the markets, free and unrestricted for all her products, of forty millions of people. Indeed it is the Union, with all its countless benefits and blessings, but especially with free trade among all the States, that has made Massachusetts great, rich, and powerful. Had she remained a British colony, Massachusetts would have had no such career. Let us look at some

of the results which liberty and the Union, free institutions, and free trade between the States have achieved for Massachusetts, contrasted with Nova Scotia. Massachusetts, by census of 1860, the population was 1,231,066; Nova Scotia, by census of 1861, 330,857. Massachusetts, total value of real and personal property, by census of 1860, \$815,237,433. Nova Scotia, by census of 1861, \$61,265,914. Massachusetts, by State returns of 1868, \$1,300,000,000. (Com'r L. O. R., 1868, p. 200.) Such has been the wonderful progress of Massachusetts, one of the smallest States in the Union, with a sterile soil, a severe climate, and no mineral wealth. It is manufactures, and the markets of a great nation for them, that have accomplished these miracles of progress. These results I have taken from our census. It is our American Evangel, proclaiming at each decade, not only for Massachusetts, but for the whole nation, the decennial progress of American internal free trade, liberty, and Union. These results are prophecies, for each decade fulfills the predictions of its predecessor.

Let us now look at the progress of some other of our American States. The State of New York contained in 1790 a population of 340,120; in 1860, 3,880,735. Pennsylvania, population in 1790, 434,373; in 1860, 2,900,115. Illinois, population 1810, 12,282; in 1860, 1,711,951. Michigan, population in 1810, 4,762; in 1820, 8,765; in 1830, 31,639; in 1860, 749,113. Wisconsin, population in 1840, 30,749; in 1860, 775,881. Iowa, population in 1840, 43,112; in 1850, 192,214; in 1860, 674,913. Minnesota, population in 1850, 6,077; in 1860, 172,123.

There is no parallel to these results in the history of the world. Let us now look at the progress of population in the whole United States:

Year.	Population.	Rate of increase.
1790.....	3,922,827	
1800.....	5,305,937	35.02
1810.....	7,239,814	36.45
1820.....	9,638,191	33.13
1830.....	12,866,020	33.49
1840.....	17,069,453	32.67
1850.....	23,191,876	35.87
1860.....	31,445,080	35.59

This striking regularity in the progress of our population, arose from the fact, that European immigration increased at each decade, in a ratio fully corresponding with

our augmentation of population. The immigration here, from 1850 to 1860, including that which came from and through the Canadas, was 3,000,000. Now, according to the statistical tables, the average net value of the products of each person is \$1,009 during the average duration of human life. Multiply our immigration from 1850 to 1860 by \$1,009, and it makes an addition of \$3,000,000,000 to our wealth by the immigration of one decade. If our population increased during each decade until 1900 in the same ratio as from 1850 to 1860, the result would be as follows:

In 1870.....	42,636,858
In 1880.....	57,791,315
In 1890.....	78,359,243
In 1900.....	106,347,297

Our late census superintendent, in an official report, making a due allowance for the effect of our late war, estimated our population in 1900 at 100,355,802, making a difference of nearly six millions as compared with former progress. This is a most reasonable estimate, for we know that European immigration is preparing to reach our shores in vastly augmented numbers. This is owing to several causes: First. The world is now convinced of the permanence of our institutions, and that we are the strongest Government on earth, both in war and peace, resting upon the broad basis of the support and affections of the people. Without a conscription, two millions of volunteers rushed to the defence of the Union, and continued the contest until the proslavery rebellion was overthrown. This sublime devotion to country, without a parallel, or even a distant approach to it, arose from the nature of our Government. Each volunteer was a voter, who felt that he was defending his own rights; that this was his Government, which he would transmit to his children, all whole and undivided. This American Union, this great inheritance of freedom, is the only legacy which the poor can transmit to their descendants, and yet they die content. They know that this Union can never die, nor even a single star fade from our banner. This conviction, as to the strength of our Government, has not only reached the masses of the people of Europe, but also kings and emperors, and their cabinets, especially in England. This is well illustrated in a recent declaration of Mr. Gladstone, the

English Premier, and the greatest of all her statesmen, except John Bright.⁶⁶ Mr. Bright, throughout the contest, predicted our success, and, at the darkest period of the war, with forecasting vision, he unrolled the scroll of history, and sketched our coming destiny, when the American Union, as he foretold, should embrace within its limits the whole American Continent. In his great speech at Birmingham in 1862, alluding to the destiny of our Union, he said: "I have another and far brighter vision before my gaze. It may be a vision, but I will cherish it. I see one vast Confederation stretching from the frozen North in unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer water of the Pacific main; and I see one people, and one language, and one faith; and over all that wide continent, the homes of free men, the home of freedom, and the refuge for the oppressed of every race and clime!"

This is the same John Bright, who was your leading friend, who endeavored to induce Parliament to inquire into your grievances in connection with the repeal question. He was for you and for us, because we were both right, and because he is always the friend of justice and humanity. Come, then, Nova Scotians! Come, Americans! Come our brethren of this great Continent, and hasten, by all peaceful means, the fulfillment of that inevitable destiny, fraught with such countless blessings and benefits to you and to us.

The 2d reason why immigration here will increase more rapidly hereafter, is this: The Homestead bill, passed during the war, gives, substantially, to each settler upon the public domain, whether native or immigrant, 160 acres of public lands, on the sole condition of settlement and cultivation. This bill is now, for the first time, being made generally known to the masses of the people of Europe, accompanied by maps, descriptive notes and surveys, together with an account of the character and products of the soil, and the vicinage of bays, lakes, rivers, railroads, or canals. Our railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific is substantially finished, and New York and San Francisco will soon exchange greetings by mail within a week's time. The completion of this road will greatly increase immigra-

tion to the West, but especially to the States near or upon the Pacific. California, alone, if having as many people to the square mile as Massachusetts now has, would contain 37,000,000 of inhabitants.

Experience has shown, that distance from our seat of government creates no obstacle, even at the most remote points, to the successful operations of the Union. The Pacific States were among the most loyal throughout the rebellion. Nor does the number of States or people create any difficulty. The reason is obvious: the General Government has a few great but clearly specified powers, such as to make war or peace, to preserve the Union from all assailants, foreign or domestic; to control our foreign relations, to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the States, to coin money and control the currency, to establish post offices and post roads, &c. Each State for itself regulates all its own local concerns, and all that thus affects life, liberty, and property in all the social and domestic relations between man and man within its limits. Nor does the exploded objection, that a republic such as ours, is suited only to a limited area, find now any advocates. Until 1803, our whole area was but 800,000 square miles; but now, by successive additions, it embraces 4,000,000 of square miles, and the Union and the Government have been greatly strengthened by each annexation. Variety of products increases the interchange between the States, enlarges our domestic trade and intercourse, increasing business and augmenting the demand for labor. The increased number of States and people only strengthens the Union, and makes it more beneficial to all its parts. Each State has thus a far greater interest in the Union, when its markets embrace thirty-seven States, instead of thirteen, and forty millions, instead of three millions of people. Nova Scotia knows that it would be much better for her to obtain here the markets of forty rather than of three millions of people, and what she readily perceives, is thoroughly understood by the people of all our States. Every addition, then, to our territory and population, is a new bond of Union, greatly augmenting our wealth and power.

Observe, now, our coterminous boundary of five thousand miles, which unites us with British America, ex-

tending from the Atlantic to the Pacific and the Arctic sea. Look at the lakes, rivers, oceans, railroads, and canals which unite us; look at the persistent, ever active, and constantly augmenting force of the mutual attraction of kindred race, of language, of institutions, of interest, and geographical position, and then ask yourselves how long this moral force can be resisted. Why resist it any longer? Let Nova Scotia come first, and all British America would soon follow.

3d. Perhaps the greatest cause of increased immigration from Europe, will be found in the disappearance of slavery. This kept back thousands of European immigrants from our shores, and especially from the rich and sparsely settled lands of the South. Our Southern cotton culture has been greatly injured for a short time by the war, and by the disorganization of labor; but, in a short time, the cotton culture of the South will be revived with renewed vigor and success. The culture will be carried on like the agriculture of the North, by free labor; the lands will be subdivided as there into small farms, well cultivated, and yielding large additional products per acre, not in cotton only, but in all the great Southern staples. If any doubt this, let them look at the census of 1860, which shows that the agricultural product of the free States in 1859, was \$131 48 per capita, and of the slave States, it was the same year \$70 56 per capita. Thus, the agricultural product of the free States, was nearly double that of the slave States per capita in 1859, notwithstanding the far richer lands and much more valuable staples of the South.

For all these reasons, it seems clear, that the estimate of the superintendent of the census, of one hundred millions as our population in 1900, will be fully realized. It is, then, the markets of forty millions of people now, rapidly augmenting every year, until it exceeds one hundred millions in 1900, that Nova Scotia is asked to reject, and take as a substitute five or six hundred thousand dollars a year of exports to the Dominion, and from three to seven hundred thousand dollars a year to England, leaving a deficit of five or six millions of dollars a year, to be made up, if possible, by the profits of other trades. But if, as predicted by your greatest statesman, and as we

all most firmly believe, the American continent should soon be ours, our population in 1900 would reach 150,000,000 of people. Here would be the reign of liberty, peace, and Union, and of free trade between all the States. Now, look at Europe. It is little more than a military camp, bristling with four millions of bayonets, covered with forts and arsenals, and composed of thirty-eight separate and often hostile Governments. Our great trans continental rail road is substantially completed, the construction of the ship canal at the isthmus of Darien will soon follow. Who, then, will command the commerce of the world? Having looked into the increase of population, let us now examine that of our wealth, as shown by our census. In 1850 our total wealth by the census was \$7,135,780,228; in 1860, \$16,159,616,068. Thus, our increase of wealth from 1850 to 1860 was 126.45 per cent. In England the increase of wealth by the census, from 1851 to 1881, was 37 per cent. Assuming these ratios, the result would be as follows:

United Kingdom, 1861, wealth,	\$31,500,000,000
" " 1871 "	43,155,000,000
" " 1881 "	59,122,350,000
" " 1891 "	80,997,619,500
" " 1901 "	110,966,837,715

Applying the percentage of the increase of our wealth, the result would be as follows:

United States, 1860, wealth,	\$16,159,616,068
" " 1870 "	36,593,450,585
" " 1880 "	63,365,868,849
" " 1890 "	187,314,353,225
" " 1900 "	423,330,438,288
" " 1901 "	463,330,438,288

Thus, if each nation increased in the same ratio respectively, as for the last decade, the wealth of the United States in 1880 would exceed that of the United Kingdom \$23,743,518,849; in 1890 it would be much more than double; in 1901 much more than quadruple, our excess being \$352,363,600,573. These are astounding results; but our census shows that the rate of increase of our wealth from 1850 to 1860 was much greater than during any preceding decade. Thus, the previous results, so far back as the returns were given, are as follows:

From 1820 to 1830.....	41 per cent
From 1830 to 1840.....	42 "
From 1840 to 1850.....	64 "
From 1850 to 1860.....	126.45 "

The causes of this wonderful and progressive increase of our wealth are easily explained:

1st. We have seen that our wealth, from 1850 to 1860, was increased \$8,000,000,000 by immigration alone.

2d. The whole of the public lands owned by the United States amounted to 2,867,185 square miles, or 1,834,908,490 acres. Of this there remains unsold, and now the property of the Government, 1,405,366,678 acres. (See Report of Commissioner of General Land Office for November, 1888, p. 164.) This area exceeds by 1,200,000 square miles, all Europe outside of Russia. The pecuniary condition of an individual or a State, whose property in excess of its indebtedness, is always considered safe. These lands and mines connected with them, are worth more than our whole public debt. We do not, however, sell these lands or mines. The lands are given in quarter sections, of 160 acres each, to every settler, native or immigrant, who will reside upon and cultivate them, and the mines of the precious metals are also given in an adequate number of feet to each miner who will work them. Commissioner Wilson, in one of his great Land Office Reports, speaks of our public domain as follows: "It embraces soils capable of abundant yield of the rich productions of the tropics, of sugar, cotton, rice, tobacco, corn, and the grape; the vintage, now a stable, particularly so of California; of the great cereals, wheat and corn, in the Western, Northwestern, and Pacific States, and in that vast interior region from the valley of the Mississippi river to the Rocky mountains; and thence to the chain formed by the Sierra Nevada and Cascades, the eastern wall of the Pacific slope, every variety of soil is found revealing its wealth."

"Instead of dreary invariable wastes, as supposed in earlier times, the millions of buffalo, elk, deer, mountain sheep, the primitive inhabitants of the soil, fed by the hand of nature, attest its capacity for the abundant support of a dense population through the skillful toil of the agriculturist, dealing with the earth under the guidance of the science of the present age."

"Not only is the yield of food for man in this region abundant, but it holds in its bosom the precious metals of gold, silver, with cinnabar, the useful metals of iron, lead, copper, interspersed with immense

belts or strata of that propulsive element coal," &c.

In his official report to Congress of November, 1868, Commissioner Wilson says: "In twenty years we have probably added to the metallic circulating medium of the world about \$1,250,000,000, ten per cent. of which is silver. Of the world's annual product, about \$200,000,000, we are producing more than one-half." Our recent discoveries of mines of gold and silver, made known since Mr. Wilson's report, are of the most startling character. The first reports of the White Pine silver mines of Nevada were, to a great extent, discredited here; but the actual results are now realized. That these mines do yield from \$1,500 to \$2,000 per ton, of silver, is now an ascertained fact. These mines are of great extent, and, in the quantity produced, exceed the richest virgin silver quarries of Mexico. Our latest accounts from Alaska, also, fully confirm the great value of the gold mines of that region. No account is taken in our census of the public lands or the mines upon them; they are only estimated as a part of our wealth when they become private property. This system of free grants to miners and settlers, is found to increase the national wealth and population much more rapidly than sales of lands and mines. It stimulates labor, which produces all wealth, and encourages the hardy miner in his daily toil. It makes the axe and the plough, the great emblems of American civilization. The forest is removed, or the prairie ploughed, the cabin is built, and the settler, when the toils of the day are over, meets, at his humble board, a happy and contented family. The farms soon become settlements, villages. Then counties, territories, and cities emerge from the wilderness. Manufactures and other industries soon follow. New States are organized and introduced into the Union. Within the last nineteen years, six new States and nine Territories (soon to become States) have thus been organized within our limits. Do you marvel then at our wonderful increase of wealth and population? It is the same system that has carried the sisterhood of States from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and now binds them together by our first great Continental railroad. This will be followed by many others, and especially

by the great Northern and Southern routes. The first of these, with its magnificent land grant from Congress, will be the Northern Pacific, running from the headwaters of Lake Superior to Portland, on the waters of the Oregon river, and to Puget sound. Skirting below the British Territory, it will give a grand route for British North America from Nova Scotia through New Brunswick, and Maine, and New York, and Chicago, and St. Paul, the Red river of the North, and thence to the Pacific. Our British friends may diverge from Chicago, by Omaha, by the Union and Central Pacific to San Francisco, or the trains from Montreal may connect with either of those routes. But no continuous railroad route, entirely through British territory, can ever unite Halifax and Montreal with the Pacific. Nature forbids the banns. "Indeed, British Columbia, surrounded by our territory and population, north and south, is essentially American in feeling and in interest. Her last Provincial Legislature rejected the proposed Union with the Canadian dominion, by a vote of more than two to one. Indeed, British Columbia, has been ruined and depopulated for want of our markets, which are essential to her existence. They have requested England to permit them to be annexed to the United States."

It has been estimated by the opponents of annexation in Nova Scotia, but especially in the Canadian Dominion, that you and their people would pay, on annexation, a Federal internal revenue tax, estimated at five dollars a head. The population of Nova Scotia having been 330,857 in 1861, a tax of five dollars a head would amount to \$1,654,285 per annum. Now, in point of fact, your portion of our internal revenue tax would be much nearer in proportion to wealth than population. But the result in your case would be more favorable to you than this, the collections being small, even in proportion to wealth, where there are no great commercial or manufacturing centres. Your wealth in 1861, as heretofore given, was \$61,265,014, and yet there are three men and firms in New York, whose tax would exceed that of Nova Scotia. The official table herewith published shows that the internal taxes paid by the different States were not in proportion to population, but much more nearly in the ratio of wealth:

OFFICIAL TABLE.

States and Territories.	Real and Personal Estate—Census of 1880.	Population of 1880.	Estimated population in 1888; Comptroller's Report and other data.	Estimated wealth in 1888; Comptroller's Report and other data.	Internal Revenue Collected.
Alabama.....	\$35,237,078	984,201	-	-	\$4,233,506
Arkansas.....	219,256,473	485,143	650,000	-	6,534,798
California.....	207,874,513	379,994	-	-	4,396,716
Connecticut.....	444,244,114	112,210	-	-	587,238
Delaware.....	43,244,181	112,210	-	-	402,440
Florida.....	73,701,500	140,424	-	-	6,117,347
Georgia.....	645,895,237	1,057,280	2,500,000	-	2,528,770
Idaho.....	871,860,282	1,711,904	-	-	1,191,000
Illinois.....	628,935,371	1,350,428	1,300,000	-	2,177,085
Indiana.....	247,338,265	674,913	400,000	-	4,251,949
Iowa.....	31,227,995	107,200	-	-	4,118,318
Kansas.....	498,648,582	1,708,092	-	-	3,758,331
Kentucky.....	892,111,538	628,279	672,177	\$344,035	1,500,436
Louisiana.....	190,211,600	687,049	-	-	4,247,436
Maine.....	815,237,433	1,231,066	1,305,242	1,300,000	12,974,727
Massachusetts.....	257,163,983	749,113	1,000,000	-	2,583,246
Michigan.....	376,519,944	1,231,066	440,000	79,483,000	3,751,610
Minnesota.....	82,234,413	172,023	-	-	4,865,551
Mississippi.....	507,324,301	124,018	-	-	1,939,724
Missouri.....	193,310,890	1,124,012	-	-	5,083,136
New Hampshire.....	467,918,224	1,326,073	820,000	-	39,076,712
New Jersey, partly estimated.	1,843,334,517	672,035	-	-	1,171,011
New York.....	358,728,380	3,890,735	4,500,000	4,500,000,000	12,349,703
North Carolina.....	1,193,808,422	992,622	2,800,000	2,100,000,000	18,177,177
Ohio.....	28,930,337	2,339,511	3,500,000	317,976,003	2,680,682
Pennsylvania.....	1,185,371,538	2,932,465	-	-	2,632,704
Rhode Island.....	548,525,754	703,768	-	-	4,707,884
South Carolina.....	463,903,892	1,106,861	-	-	1,780,699
Texas.....	385,200,614	1,604,215	-	-	1,793,193
Vermont.....	122,477,170	315,098	-	-	1,491,068
Virginia.....	793,249,681	1,596,318	1,000,000	400,000,000	126,817
Wisconsin.....	273,561,835	775,680	140,000	-	57,100
District of Columbia.....	4,131,052	28,841	100,000	36,537,601	48,985
Nebraska.....	20,813,768	93,514	-	-	49,907
Nevada.....	5,595,118	40,273	-	-	119,075
Utah Territory.....	5,601,465	11,594	120,000	12,000,000	94,946
Washington Territory.....	-	-	-	-	10,135
Arizona.....	-	-	-	-	108,229
Colorado.....	-	-	-	-	308,760
Idaho.....	-	-	-	-	790,925
Montana.....	-	-	-	-	-
Nevada.....	-	-	-	-	-
West Virginia.....	-	-	-	-	-
	\$16,159,616,068	31,442,321	-	-	\$174,238,916

Speaking on this subject, at the close of his great report of November, 1868, Commissioner Wilson says: "The total population of the United States in 1860 was, in round numbers, 31,500,000. In 1865, it is estimated that the population was 35,500,000. At the present time, November 1, 1868, according to the most satisfactory estimate, it is 39,250,000. In 1870, according to existing ratios, the population of this country will be over 42,250,000. At the end of the present century, 107,000,000." Judging by the returns, our wealth will have more than doubled in 1870.

Analyzing the table, the State of New York, with less than a ninth of the total population, approximated in payment one-fourth of the whole internal tax; and Massachusetts, with less than a thirtieth of the population, paid a proportion exceeding one-tenth of the whole tax. We have no Federal land tax. The State that approached nearest Nova Scotia in wealth and population, by the returns, was Minnesota, although it was considerably in excess of Nova Scotia, both as to wealth and population. Yet, with this excess, Minnesota contributed but \$263,000 in payment of the internal tax of 1868. Judging by Minnesota, the internal tax to be paid by Nova Scotia in 1868 would have been about \$200,000. But, there is another fact of great importance in connection with this question; it is this—that our wealth more than doubles every ten years, thus rendering the internal tax necessary for the support of the Government, fifty per cent. less onerous at each decade. Indeed, with the reduction of expenditures now going on, and the increased revenue from other sources, no doubt is entertained, that, within four or five years, our whole internal taxation may and will be entirely repealed, except upon liquors and other intoxicating drinks, upon tobacco, and a just and reasonable tax on the national banks, which must soon yield large results, inasmuch as the free banking system must be adopted at an early day. But then it must not be forgotten, that, whatever addition to the aggregate of the internal tax, or from revenue derived from the tariff followed the annexation of British America, would enable us still farther to reduce the internal taxation, or apply such excess to great works of in-

ternal improvement, including the enlargement, to their utmost capacity, of all our own, (as well as the Canadian canals,) of which the great cut from Chicago to the Illinois river would be prominent in giving access to the valley of the Mississippi. Among the great works, in the event of annexation, undoubtedly would be the deep canals from Lake Huron to Toronto, from the same lake by the Ottawa to Montreal, and thence to St. John's on the Richelieu river. Of course, we would enlarge all our own canals from Buffalo, from Oswego, and from the head of Lake Champlain, to the Hudson river. The people of the West and Northwest *must and will have these* enlarged canals, their accumulating products demand it, they must and will have *cheap freight* and no monopolies, and cease to burn Indian corn for firewood in the West, for want of proper facilities for market.

The attempt to force the union with Canada upon Nova Scotia against her will and protest, is one of the most stupendous blunders in modern history. It transcends in tyranny any occurrence in the worst days of the Stuarts. Notwithstanding the warning voice of John Bright and eighty-seven of his associates in the House of Commons, that House refused even to inquire into the grave and truthful facts set forth in the most respectful petitions of your Legislature and people. How often history inscribes its warning upon the walls of royal palaces, and sends its mournful echoes through the long corridor of centuries! Yes, history continually repeats itself. The present position of Nova Scotia, closely resembles our own in 1774, preceding the American Revolution. Then, our colonies, setting forth their grievances, requested redress, and most truly represented their earnest desire to continue the British connection. How strange now sound to us the loyal words, then bearing the signatures of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, the Adamses, Hancock, and other distinguished patriots of the Revolution!

Read these words, fellow-Americans of Nova Scotia, and see how parallel your present position is with that of ours in 1774: Then we were most loyal subjects; but our petition for redress being contumeliously rejected, we fought in 1775 many battles

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Revenue West Virginia

with British troops as enemies, but still for our rights as Englishmen under the British constitution. Nor was it until the 4th of July, 1776, that we declared our independence. Who now doubts that we were right on that occasion?

Besides the memorial above referred to, on the 26th of October, 1774, the American Continental Congress, (as shown by its journal,) in closing an address to King George III, adopted the following declaration: "That your Majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and prosperous reign over loyal and happy subjects, and that your descendants may inherit your prosperity and dominion till time shall be no more, is and always will be our sincere and fervent prayer." But all redress or hearing being refused, within six months the first blood was shed at Lexington by British troops; Bunker Hill followed, and as promptly as a gallant army ever obeyed the battle reveille, the people rose to arms. But, in 1774, our people had been most loyal, and at a time when loyalty to kings was a sentiment much deeper and more universal than it ever has been since the whole system has been rocking on its base under the teachings and results of the American Revolution.

Our complaint was taxation without representation; but, although this was a great grievance, it does not compare in atrocity with the attempt against your will and protest to transfer you as slaves to a foreign Dominion. Who wonders that you resist and denounce the effort? As Lord Chatham said of us in the war of the Revolution, "You would be fit to be slaves if you did not resist." Rest assured, England will never attempt to drive you by force into the Canadian Dominion. Continue to endeavor to obtain for Nova Scotia a repeal of the Union. But if, after one more effort, this should fail, or even if now you should regard the case as hopeless, then you should commence immediately a most earnest effort for annexation to the United States. *In hoc signo vinces.* Appeal to the masses of the people everywhere, organize your committees in every county and district. Speak through the press, through public oral addresses, through lectures and social in-

tercourse. Let there be no thought of war nor of any collision, except of argument and intellect. Do this, and your success is certain.

The proposed Canadian Dominion, stretching from Newfoundland to the Arctic and Pacific, is but little more than a fragmentary selavage of the United States. It is composed of detached parts, incapable of intercommunication, or of being consolidated into one empire. It can never be a compact body, with one head or heart or one arterial system. It is the universal opinion of all our engineers, that a continuous railroad through British territory, running from Halifax, through Montreal, to the Pacific, can never be constructed or used. The route by the Restagouche is not a commercial, but a military road, and constitutes a part of those heavy war expenditures which you are called upon in part to make to protect Canada against imaginary assaults from the United States. And yet, strange and contradictory as is this policy, none know better than your civil and military engineers, and those of England, that British America, in case of war, is totally indefensible against the United States. Indeed, what could be more obvious than that 4 000,000 of people, however brave, could not successfully contend against 40,000,000 of people. The folly of this route consists in this, whilst Montreal is in latitude 45.30 north, and Halifax in latitude 43.40 north, the Restagouche route goes north from Montreal to latitude 48.30, in order to return south to Halifax—thus going three degrees out of the way.

The Restagouche route could, of course, enter into no competition in summer with the St. Lawrence and Gulf route, and, in winter, it could not successfully contend with a railroad from Halifax to St. Johns, New Brunswick; thence to Bangor, Maine; thence by two short cuts, especially from Island Pond, to Montreal, diminishing the distance from Montreal to Halifax ninety miles. Thus, the real distance from Halifax to Montreal, through Maine, would be reduced to 756 miles, compared with 858 miles by the Restagouche route. But, beside the diminished distance, the route by Maine passes through a cultivated and somewhat densely populated country, the

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best summer route, but especially preferable in winter to the other, which passes, for hundreds of miles, through an unbroken wilderness and deeply-drifting snows. Can the Canadian Dominion alter the decrees of Providence? Can they change climate and geography? Can they roll back the eternal snows, or melt the glaciers of this dreary and semi-arctic waste? From Montreal to the Pacific ocean, the route of the railroad will cover a distance of nearly three thousand miles. It must pass entirely north of Lake Huron, Lake Superior, and the Lake of the Woods. The region north of these lakes, is broken, rocky, and dreary, swept over by deep and drifting snows for nearly a thousand miles, rendering this part of the route, in the opinion of our engineers, utterly impracticable. From the Red River of the North, through the Saskatchewan country, to a point within about a hundred miles east of the Rocky mountains, the route is regarded as practicable for a railroad, and most of the country is considered valuable; but, from this point westward, through the great ranges of the Rocky and Cascade mountains, the country is very poor and dreary to the Pacific, rendering the difficulties by this route insurmountable, so far as the country is known. Here, then, are three detached regions of great extent, one on the St. Lawrence and Restagouche; one, very extensive, north of Lakes Huron, Superior, and Lake of the woods, and, finally, the one between the eastern base of the Rocky mountains and the Pacific, vast regions, lying in detached fragments, incapable of intercommunication, except through foreign territory. Can these fragments ever be consolidated into one empire?

But another question is urged upon the people of Nova Scotia. It is this: that if you join the Canadian Dominion, that Government will be able to make a reciprocity treaty with this country. Now, if there is any question definitely settled, it is this: that we never will agree to any reciprocity treaty with any British province separately, or with the Canadian Dominion, on any terms whatever, or at any time, present or prospective. Why should we discriminate as regards tariffs against our friends during the

late war, and in favor of England, or any of her colonies, especially since England has forbidden her colonies (except the Dominion) to treat with us, thus rebuking them and us. We shall not discriminate against them.

On the 3d of March last, Mr. Schenck, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported to the House the following resolution:

Resolved, That while this House does not not admit any right in the executive and treaty-making power of the United States to conclude treaties or conventions with any foreign Government by which import duties shall be mutually regulated, it is however of the opinion, and recommends to the President, that negotiations with the Government of Great Britain should be renewed and pressed, if possible, to a definite conclusion regarding commercial intercourse, and securing to our own citizens the rights claimed by them in the fisheries on the coasts of the British provinces of America and the free navigation of the St. Lawrence river from its source to the sea.

In the debate which followed the introduction of this resolution, embracing half a dozen members, Mr. Schenck, the chairman, said: "I do not believe we ought to enter into any relations of reciprocity with the British Provinces, either through negotiations with the Imperial Government of Great Britain or by direct treaty with the Provinces themselves, if that were possible. I believe the people of the British Provinces should be treated like all other foreigners, and made to pay the same duties on articles they import into our country that other foreigners are required to pay upon similar articles." At the same time Mr. Schenck expressed himself in favor of commercial treaties "in regard to the fisheries on the coasts of those Provinces, and in relation to the free navigation of the St. Lawrence river from its source to the sea."

Mr. Pike, said: "The only reason why I drew out this expression of opinion from the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means (Mr. Schenck) was the fact that it has been published in the papers quite extensively that that committee was in favor of a renewal of the reciprocity treaty."

Mr. Schenck. "I am not authorized to speak for the rest of the members of the committee, but I am not aware of any difference of opinion between any of them and myself on that subject."

Not a single member expressed himself in favor of reciprocity. (Congressional Globe, March 3, 1869.)

On the 23d of March, Mr. Schenck's resolution was unanimously adopted. (Congressional Globe, March 23, 1869.)

After this unanimous vote of our House of Representatives, it is hoped, that anti-annexationists everywhere will no longer attempt to delude the public on this question.

The Canadian Dominion and all the Provinces know well the plain and unequivocal terms on which they can obtain perpetual free trade with all the States of the Union. It is by annexation. If the Dominion and other Provinces refuse annexation, as they have a perfect right to do, so do we reject reciprocity.

It is neither your interest nor that of England that her North American Provinces should remain longer in colonial subjection. England could do no wiser act than *at once* to acknowledge the independence of the Dominion, and that of all the adjacent provinces. Such an act would speedily lead to the amicable adjustment of all difficulties between the two nations.

It has been suggested, that England would transfer all these colonies to us in payment of the Alabama claims. This England will never do, nor should we ask such a transfer. She would justly regard such a request, in such a form, as an attempted humiliation; and it would alienate from us the friendly feeling of all the colonies. This is proved by the resistance of the people of Nova Scotia to their attempted transfer to the Canadian Dominion without their consent. The Canadians, the Nova Scotians, and the people of the other Provinces are brave and enlightened men, and we should not wound their feelings or susceptibilities.

We wish no States forced into the Union. If these colonies, with their own free will, would come into the Union, we would rejoice to receive them, but not otherwise. Indeed, our people would commemorate your voluntary annexation to the United States as the greatest event of this century. So soon as the telegraph should communicate the result throughout the country, the booming cannon and the chiming bell would announce our rejoic-

ing, and a great people would bid you welcome, thrice welcome, into the Union.

These people are equal to ourselves. They would constitute a large portion of the voters of the Union, and they should be, like ourselves, free as the "casing air," subject only to the limits of the Constitution. We want, and will have, in this country, no serfs by transfer, or otherwise. Nor will England ever treat with us for the acknowledgment of the independence of these colonies in connection with the Alabama claims. Let the colonies ask for independence *themselves*, and they will surely receive it. That they would then desire annexation to the United States, is not doubted. Thus, the annexation measure, the greatest of any age or country, would be speedily consummated, and a fair and just settlement of the Alabama claims would follow, as a necessary consequence.

The Senate has lately rejected the treaty about the Alabama claims, by a vote of 54 to 1, and the decision was clearly right. This treaty, as shown by my letter of the 17th of January last, embraced but an infinitesimal portion of the damages inflicted on our Government and people during the war by British cruisers. There was but one speech made against the treaty. It was by the eminent chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, (Mr. Sumner.) That speech may be criticized, but it will never be answered. Having been the financial agent of our Government in Europe during the war, and charged also with special duties as to these cruisers, the facts are all familiar to me. The rejection of the treaty is supposed to indicate approaching war. There is danger, but war, it is believed, may be averted, if both countries will act in a spirit of justice and mutual forbearance. Meanwhile, the great questions of annexation and independence can go on without interruption. In the Parliamentary debate on the bill creating the Canadian Dominion, Earl Russell said: "If it ever should be the wish of these Provinces to separate from England, the Parliament might be ready to listen to their requests and to accede to their wishes in any way they may choose." On the same occasion the Marquis of Normandy said: "If the North American colonies feel themselves able to stand alone, and show

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their anxiety either to form themselves into an independent country, or even to amalgamate with the United States, I think it would not be wise to resist that desire." If any contrary views were expressed on that occasion, I have not seen them. Subsequently John Bright said: "Your scheme (of confederation) must break down if the Nova Scotians resolve they will not have it. * * * It is not possible to coerce them. * * * There is no statesman living in England who will venture to bring about the shedding of one drop of blood upon that continent." In his speech in the House of Commons, on the 23d of March, 1865, Mr. Bright said: "I venture to say that there is not a man in this House, or a sensible man out of it, who, apart from the consideration of this vote, or some special circumstances attending it, believes that the people of this country could attempt a successful defence of the frontier of Canada against the whole power of the United States. I said the other night that I hoped we should not now talk folly, and hereafter, in the endeavor to be consistent, act folly. We all know perfectly well that we are talking folly when we say that the Government of this country would send either ships or men to make an effectual defence of Canada against the power of the United States, supposing war to break out." The London *Times* of the 13th of March last, in a leading editorial, declares that *if the colonies desire annexation to the United States England will not object*. It is quite certain that England can never be a leading American Power, but she is now a great Eastern Power, and, by concentrating her energies at the East, she can become far greater. The area of Great Britain and Ireland is 121,000 square miles, with a population in 1861 of 29,317,000. From her limited area, then, England has almost reached her climax at home, and therefore cannot be the greatest European Power. Several of the European Powers now greatly exceed her in area and population. European Russia, alone, has an area of 2,100,000 square miles, with a population of 75,000,000. But England is far the greatest of all the Eastern Powers; her Australian area is 3,200,000 square miles, and a population of 1,200,000, whilst British Hindostan alone has an area

of 1,200,000 square miles, and a population of 180,000,000, making a combined Eastern English area of 4,400,000 square miles, and an Eastern population of 181,200,000. Besides China there are three great Eastern Powers. England and Russia, by reason of their immense possessions and population in Asia; and the United States, by its vast geographical coast line upon the Pacific. This coast line brings us within forty miles of the shores of Northern Asia, and, by the Aleutian Isles, within a few hundred miles of Manchouria and Japan. Although the United States own no Asiatic possessions, and have never desired any, yet, by geographical position, and by trade and intercourse, they are a great Eastern power. Now, by these tables it appears that the total area of all the British possessions, together with those of Russia and of the United States, are 19,530,000 square miles; add to this the area of China proper, 1,300,000 square miles, and the result will be 20,830,000 square miles, or largely more than two-fifths of the land area of the world. The aggregate population of these three great countries would be 336,567,000; add to this China, 400,000,000, and the result would be 736,567,000, or very largely more than half the population of the world. I have added China, because the Burlingame treaty, negotiated first with us by our eminent countryman, the Chinese American Minister, and since by him with England and Russia, substantially guarantees the integrity of the Chinese territory. It is of vast importance that the most cordial relations should subsist among all the great Eastern powers, China, England, Russia, and the United States, so as to leave full room for internal developments, free from the hazards of war. To accomplish this important object, it is essential that England should withdraw from America, and concentrate her wealth and energies upon her empire in the East—a step magnifying her importance and security as an Eastern as well as a European Power.

And now, my friends, having endeavored to convince you that your true and permanent interests require your annexation to the United States, great will be our delight if your people should concur with us on this momentous question. But, should it be determined otherwise, we would relinquish this cherished desire with

the deepest regret. We must then turn our eyes, more directly, to Mexico, Central America, Cuba, Porto Rico, San Domingo, &c. The people of all these countries most earnestly desire annexation to the United States. We do not think of force in any of these cases, or of violating any principle of justice or of international law. They are all coming as rapidly as we could wish, and we are preparing to receive them into our Union. Mexico, we always supposed to be the richest silver mining country in the world, until the recent discoveries in Nevada. But the northern provinces of Mexico, containing the richest silver mines of that country, are rendered almost non-productive, by the hostile incursions of the Apaches and Comanches. Indeed, all Mexico is in a revolutionary condition, and labor is entirely disorganized. There is no remedy for this evil, except annexation. Then, the prosperity of Mexico would recommence, and go on with re-

newed vigor. Under American rule, the silver mines of Mexico might be made to produce at least \$50,000,000 per annum, and she would supply us most abundantly with the raw materials of manufactures. The same remarks apply with almost equal force to Central America, Cuba, Porto Rico, St. Domingo, &c. These countries contain now a population of 14,000,000, which would rapidly increase after annexation. Yet, valuable as these regions would be to us, these people are not, like you, of our kindred race, blood, and language.

And now this long letter must be brought to a close. It is my sincere hope, that, in any contingency, you may pass successfully through all your troubles. That an overruling Providence may guide your counsels, and, in deciding this momentous question, conduct you to wise and just conclusions.

With great respect, your obedient servant,
R. J. WALKER.

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